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Gerald Johnson: Adlai in '56

New Republic

GRAHAM GREENE

INDO-CHINA: "The country one has loved is about to retire behind the curtain"

Let's Really Have Two Parties!

Richard L. Strout Suggests the Voters Should Be Given a Clear Choice

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Washington Wire T. R. B.

We have never seen anything quite like the present relationship of Democrats to Eisenhower. He attacks them and they support him. How does it happen?

Partly personality: Ike is a well-intentioned, God-fearing man doing his best. But in his big goals the Democrats have an almost agonizing hope for his success. Why? Primarily because the stakes are so vast they dwarf politics. McCarthy's struggle to subordinate the Presidency is intolerable; again, the stakes in Indo-China and the Hydrogen bomb make most of us think as Americans—not partisans.

Democrats have been reasonably responsible in opposition. We have no illusions about Washington politics and won't push the thing too far. But compare the GOP's poisonous hatred of FDR (he "plotted" Pearl Harbor) and Truman (the "Truman war" in Korea). Then recall the *Congressional Quarterly's* finding that of 74 roll-call tests of Eisenhower's program won (out of 83) in the first session, Democrats gave him the margin of victory 58 times. (Just last week House Democrats led an unsuccessful fight against GOP leadership for Ike's housing program — they backed him in opposition to the Bricker Amendment — they will give him more support for his tariff cutting program than the Republicans.)

Now the extraordinary and fascinating thing is the way the Eisenhower Administration has reciprocated to Democratic assistance. Ike himself has been a vigorous partisan. In the 1952 campaign he lambasted the "Brannan Plan" . . . and has now adopted it as his own for meeting the wool crisis. He told a press conference he would support any Republican, anywhere, against any Democratic opponent. His Attorney General charged that Truman promoted known spies and took the shocking course of publishing unverified FBI confidential material—unrebuked by the White House. Again, the whole device of announcing 2,400 "security risks" fired by the GOP is a politically fabricated fake, not repudiated by Ike; it is designed to support the 1952 GOP election thesis that Washington is cancerous with Communists (though of all the "risks" fired no more than one has been identified as an alleged Communist). Then again, right through the 1952 campaign Ike accepted the degrading support of McCarthy; he omitted defense of George Marshall from his Milwaukee speech to placate McCarthy and, just this February, allowed the GOP National Committee to pick McCarthy as its instrument to make his "Twenty Years of Treason" attacks on Democrats. This preached a war of extermination on the Democratic Party, comprising more than half the nation—for more voters in 1952 voted for Democratic Congressional candidates than for Republican. In the inevitable Ike-McCarthy struggle Democrats have rallied to Ike because to them (as to most Americans) the Presidency is sacred; but even down to date Ike has not repudiated the Wisconsin Senator by name.

Nor is this all. The whole Administration foreign-affairs policy seems dominated by the determination to make it appear different from the Truman - Acheson policy of which it is actually (and very creditably) the successor. Ike delights to honor Richard Nixon, the No. 2 man, who in his latest folksy broadcast insulted all Democrats by congratulating the nation on having—at last—got a Secretary of State who talked back to Communists. In his own Inaugural Address Ike uttered the palpable absurdity that the Communists have now, everywhere, "lost the initiative." Merchandising slogans sprouted: the "new look" to imply that H-bombs justified the slash of US army divisions. Preoccupation with creating an image of the GOP as a regime that avoided international crises (like Truman's intervention in Korea) has been so complete that the nation is now shocked and non-plussed when Dulles suddenly finds it necessary to appeal for "united action" to hold Indo-China if the French collapse. Nothing has been done to prepare the nation for realities; yet the threatened loss of a subcontinent (to an antagonist who has "lost the initiative"!) precipitates a crisis. The Administration has been too busy deriding Truman to keep the country abreast of the present.

In the face of all this, how explain the continued Democratic support for Ike? Primarily because of the stakes involved. In this business of Indo-China and the awful possibilities of the Hydrogen bomb we are all in it together. Yes, even if the Administration must carry on its make-believe to placate the isolationist GOP wing.

What is true at home is true abroad. The Administration would be lost without Democrats, and without European allies. How are the latter treated? With the same condescending superiority.

Careful Drew Middleton reported from London in last Sunday's *New York Times* that if the Administration had purposely tried to lower the prestige of the pro-American Churchill before his critics, it could not have succeeded better than by the course pursued. It is the story of the Democrats all over again. Churchill was not consulted in advance on the "New Look," on the H-bomb, the Indo-China comment, or the US rejection of the Soviet proposal to consider joining NATO. He had to tell the House of Commons sadly that he knew nothing of American plans. The Administration took his support for granted — like the Democrats — and treated him as an inferior.

Notes: Here's hoping TV commentator Ed Murrow gets honorary degrees all over the lot this spring. . . . Brownell's wire-tapping bill specifically omits the safeguard of court consent required to get federal search warrants; the Justice Department is made sole arbiter. . . . The pro-McCarthy Facts Forum "educational" foundation has just acquired "Reporters' Roundup" on the Mutual system; where you can also get Fulton Lewis. . . . March showed the usual Spring economic pick-up, but less than seasonal. . . . In one month McCarthy popularity slipped in the Gallup poll from 46 percent who approve to 36 percent disapprove, to 38 percent approve, 46 percent disapprove; only large segment approving were Catholics: 46 percent were favorable; 41 percent were unfavorable.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Decision To Win In Indo-China

THE *New Republic* has repeatedly asked a two-part question about Indo-China: what does the present Administration conceive our interests in Southeast Asia to be? And what action does it propose to take there? We now have answers: the area, says President Eisenhower, is of "transcendent importance"; and its capture by the Communists, says Secretary of State Dulles, should be resisted by "united action," even if such action involves "serious risks." At a press conference following Dulles' March 29 speech, the President refused to rule out the possible ultimate use of American troops in Indo-China.

Put simply, the Administration has decided to do whatever is needed to win in Southeast Asia—if necessary it will commit US ground forces. This has not been announced with complete candor for two reasons. (1) Dulles is determined to find a formula for Southeast Asia which will gain the acquiescence not only of France and Indo-China, but of Britain, Australia, New Zealand and *India* as well, and so, through "united action," avoid the use of American troops, and (2) an Administration which sought to make political capital out of Truman's intervention in Korea cannot publicly contemplate a similar action without first "educating" the electorate, or risking political suicide.

The decision as against the will to win in Indo-China has been a long time coming. Since the right-wing French governments we chose to support because they promised to be bulwarks against Communism and champions of the EDC were also those which were determined to hold the Indo-Chinese state as colonies, the kind of local loyalty needed to win the war has never been developed in Indo-China. After eight years of fighting, the French admit they cannot win. Our State Department refused to accept this view until the French Chief of Staff, Gen. Paul Ely, came to Washington a few weeks ago and said flatly that France was determined to negotiate a settlement and get out. France had lately based her hopes on a recent speech by Chen Yun, a member of the Chinese politburo, which indicated that China might abandon Ho Chi Minh if the price were right.

To Dulles and the US Chiefs of Staff, a negotiated peace in Indo-China would be, quite simply, a Communist victory—there is no front line in Indo-China; French withdrawal would give the Communists absolute predominance; the other nations in this area, which contains most of the "uncommitted peoples" of the world, would have to come to terms with the Communists and lack of confidence in a pro-Western policy would spread as far as Japan.

So Dulles spoke on March 29, in part, to block negotiations between the French and Chinese at Geneva.

Premier Laniel, however, has promised the French Assembly that there *will* be negotiations. And Foreign Minister Bidault cannot return from Geneva empty-handed and announce that the war must go on: Laniel's government would fall and be replaced by one committed to peace in Indo-China immediately and at any cost. Dulles must then create a "new situation"—he must persuade the non-Communist leaders of Europe and Asia, including Prime Minister Nehru of India, that the war in Indo-China is not a "colonial war," but a war of liberation that deserves their full support, their "united action."

The promise of US commitment has been given; a joint guarantee of independence for the Indo-Chinese must quickly follow. But even then, the support of an India whose protest against the arming of an unfriendly neighbor — Pakistan — has lately been coldly over-ridden will not be easily won. And the Indian view that China should be admitted to the UN is apt to be very strongly backed by Britain, Australia and New Zealand if it appears that China would abandon Ho Chi Minh to win that long-sought prize.

Dulles' problems at home are equally complex. The new policy was not discussed with members of Congress from either party; and in this election year both Republicans and Democrats have been trying to outdo one another in warning of "involvement" each time an American plane or technician is dispatched to Indo-China. Dulles will have trouble finding support for any further "involvement," especially within his own party, unless his efforts to "educate" the public are eminently successful.

The new policy was determined upon only after full consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff—and especially their chairman, Admiral Arthur Radford. Radford's ideas for Asia are well known; at a minimum they envisage the blockade of China and the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa army. And his ideas have a strong appeal to most Republicans. But there is no doubt that the insertion of these ideas into a plan for "united action" will kill it.

Thank You All

The *New Republic* staff has been swamped during the past several weeks with the largest mail we have received in many years — mail bearing our readers' good wishes and contributions. We are working overtime in an effort to acknowledge each and every letter.

However, if your contribution to the NR's fund-raising campaign has not yet been acknowledged, we assure you it is not because we are unappreciative of your generosity; it is only that our staff can handle just so much correspondence in a day, and right now it is a full day's work merely to open the mail.

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And if "united action" is shown to be impossible in any case? Then it is almost certain that some powerful GOP members of Congress would insist upon the use of Chiang's forces—either in Indo-China, where the people are likely to fight them instead of Ho Chi Minh; or against the mainland, where they would need the support of US naval and air forces—as the condition for dispatch of US troops. Then Dulles will have either to "educate" his own party, or acquiesce in a policy which will threaten the break-up of the Western Alliance and might precipitate the Final War—or he will have to abandon Southeast Asia.

A Searing Experience

THE DISCLOSURE of the bias of Samuel P. Sears, the Boston attorney, on the subject of McCarthyism makes more than ever remote the possibility of a satisfactory arrival at the facts as to who lied—McCarthy or the Army? Regardless of whether Sears is retained or dismissed, public confidence in the Committee's ability to find the truth has been shaken. Democrats must also doubt the ability of minority members to enforce fair play.

The Sears incident embarrassed both parties. Expert reporters find Republicans on the Committee guilty of trying to slip by a partial chairman. A few veterans think there is evidence that Sears was a McCarthy "plant." They see significance in the fact that his was a case of the man seeking the job, that this fact was concealed until after the appointment was announced. Sears had wired his Senator—Saltonstall—and written his Congressman—Rep. Lawrence Curtis—about getting the job. A roundabout maneuver had even produced a friendly word for Sears to Democrats on the investigating Committee from Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.)—the suggestion of a Monroney campaign manager who is also Sears' son-in-law. More significant, say those who see a McCarthy plot, is that in his eagerness to make himself "available" for "public service," Sears forgot to apprise the Committee of pro-McCarthy statements and actions which almost certainly would have ruled him out had they been known. Instead he assured both the Committee and the press that he had never "publicly or privately" expressed himself on the subject of McCarthy or McCarthyism.

A three-man squad composed of Sens. Karl Mundt (R, S.Dak.), acting chairman and McClellan (D, Ark.) and Jackson (D, Wash.) had been appointed to select a counsel for the investigation. For two weeks they canvassed a list of candidates, were rejected by many, finally sent for Sears. On the sixteenth day he flew to Washington for questioning. In less than half an hour the Committee emerged to announce Sears was their unanimous choice. The Committee had specified that the counsel should be a distinguished lawyer, uncommitted, at least as a matter of public record, on McCarthy, McCarthyism and the policies of the Army. Senators Jackson, McClellan and Mundt had had 16 days to study Sears' qualifications. Yet within 30 minutes after the selection was announced reporters had tracked down statements of record which flatly contradicted Sears' assertion of impartiality. The Senators recruiting a counsel had inquired generally among lawyers and men of position in Boston as to Sears' reputation. They had not consulted the printed record available in every newspaper morgue in his home town. The brain trust in Democratic Party headquarters did not perform the obvious chore of double checking behind their party's representatives on the Committee, although admittedly the selection of counsel for the investigation was the key to the whole inquiry.

When the question of dismissing Sears arose after the record was set straight, canny Democrats privately opposed doing so on the ground that political advantage had accrued to them from the incident, though by accident. Public blame would attach to the Republicans from trying to stack the investigation, they pointed out, and Sears' continued presence would be a constant reminder to the television public of what had gone before.

That "Readjustment"

WHILE denouncing as prophets of "doom and gloom" Democrats who called our present state of affairs a "recession," the Administration has been quietly preparing a counter-attack. Last week the word went out, and in no time at all the gloom was pierced by ray after sunny ray of reassurance.

"Manufacturers Grow Confident," said the *Journal of Commerce*, while the financial press and most of the news magazines wrote up similar optimistic releases from the National Industrial Conference Board—research arm of the National Association of Manufacturers—and other Administration allies. *Fortune* asked "Is the Recession Over?" and answered "YES!—probably."

But the truth seems to be that unemployment rose further, by 54,000, during March—a month which should have seen a seasonal decrease of 200,000 in unemployment; goods on shelves and in warehouses are not moving, so new orders are being delayed; retail sales are still down; and industrial production, of steel in particular, shows no signs of increasing.

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Unconditional Surrender

SWIFTLY following the sale by Col. Robert R. McCormick of the *Washington Times-Herald* to the editorially opposite *Washington Post,* the Colonel's wife, Mrs. Maryland McCormick, threw in the final towel. Writing in her regular Sunday column for the now merged *Washington Post* and *Times-Herald,* Mrs. McCormick opined as follows:

> We had lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Westbrook Pegler. There is no one I admire more than my husband's distant cousin, Peg, but he should not be so violent. Like the Colonel, he has fought a valiant fight for over 25 years, but where is right to the right now? I hate a quitter, and some of my friends have accused me of being one because I said I was tired of always being on the losing side, but the odds seem to be against the extreme right-wing. Very sad, but true, and why not face it. How far right is right?

Lawless Police

IN 1914 the Supreme Court had ruled (*Weeks v. US*) that mere failure to have an appropriate warrant for arrest invalidated *federal* convictions. But in 1949 (*Wolf v. Colorado*) it decided that the *Weeks* ruling was not binding on the states. The 1949 decision was somewhat modified, however, when the Court later reversed a state conviction (*Rochin v. California*) because in addition to "unreasonable search and seizure" the police had committed physical violence —forced stomach pumping—which offended prevailing "canons of decency and fairness."

In a case decided on February 8, 1954, (*Irvine v. California*), the Court had to choose between *Wolf* or *Rochin* for precedent. And although the justices were cross about police methods which they found "would be incredible if not admitted" and "for which any unofficial person should be, and probably would be severely punished," five of the nine upheld the conviction.

Said Justice William O. Douglas dissenting:

"The police and their agents first made a key to the home of a suspect. Then they bored a hole in the roof of his house. Using the key they entered the house, installed a microphone and attached it to a wire which ran through the hole in the roof to a nearby garage where officers listened in relays. Twice more they used the key to enter the house in order to adjust the microphone. First they moved it into the bedroom where the suspect and his wife slept. Next, they put the microphone into the bedroom closet. Then they used the key to enter the house to arrest the suspect. They had no search warrant; but they ransacked the house. Moreover, they examined the suspect's hands under an ultraviolet lamp to see if he had handled betting slips which they had earlier impregnated with fluorescent powder.

"The evidence so obtained was used by California to send the suspect, petitioner here, to prison. . . .

"I protest against this use of unconstitutional evidence. It is no answer that the man is doubtless guilty. The Bill of Rights was designed to protect every accused against practices of the police which history showed were oppressive of liberty. The guarantee against unreasonable searches and seizures contained in the Fourth Amendment was one of those safeguards.

"If unreasonable searches and seizures that violate the privacy which the Fourth Amendment protects are to be outlawed, this is the time and the occasion to do it. If police officers know that evidence obtained by their unlawful acts cannot be used in the courts, they will clean their own houses and put an end to this kind of action. But as long as courts will receive the evidence, the police will act lawlessly and the rights of the individual will suffer. We should throw our weight on the side of the citizen and against the lawless police. We should be alert to see that no unconstitutional evidence is used to convict any person in America."

Said Justice Felix Frankfurter, whom Justice Harold Burton joined, dissenting:

". . . There was lacking here physical violence, even to the restricted extent employed in *Rochin.* We have here, however, a more powerful and offensive control over the Irvines' life than a single, limited physical trespass. Certainly the conduct of the police here went far beyond a bare search and seizure. The police devised means to hear every word that was said in the Irvine household for more than a month. Those affirming the conviction find that this conduct, in its entirety, is 'almost incredible if it were not admitted'. Surely the Court does not propose to announce a new absolute, namely, that even the most reprehensible means for securing a conviction will not taint a verdict so long as the body of the accused was not touched by state officials. Considering the progress that scientific devices are making in extracting evidence without violence or bodily harm, satisfaction of due process would depend on the astuteness and subtlety with which the police engage in offensive practices and drastically invade privacy without authority of law. . . .

"This Court has rejected the notion that because a conviction is established on incontestable proof of guilt it may stand, no matter how the proof was secured. Observance of due process has to do not with questions of guilt or innocence but the mode by which guilt is ascertained. . . .

"Of course it is a loss to the community when a conviction is overturned because the indefensible means by which it was obtained cannot be squared with the commands of due process. A new trial is necessitated, and by reason of the exclusion of evidence derived from the unfair aspects of the prior prosecution a guilty defendant may escape. But the people can avoid such miscarriages of justice. A sturdy, self-respecting democratic community should not put up with lawless police and prosecutors."

The majority, however, disagreed.

Hawaii and Alaska

THE SENATE has chosen—57 to 28—to add two states to the Union. It has rejected—60 to 24—the proposal of Sens. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) and William Fulbright (D, Ark.) to give Alaska and Hawaii Commonwealth status instead. If the House concurs—it has previously approved statehood for Alaska only—and the President accepts, the action will be final and irrevocable. Once granted and accepted, statehood can never be withdrawn or relinquished.

The Monroney substitute reflected a belief that the development and the strength of the US has its roots in geography—in the land-mass which is the Union—and the fear that participation in national-policy decisions by states which are separated from the land-mass by, in one case, 2,000 miles of international waters, and, in the other, a sovereign nation, must eventually weaken the Union. Monroney sought to avoid this danger by offering to Alaska and Hawaii all the rights and privileges enjoyed by states except that of sending Senators

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and Representatives to the US Congress —and he specified that, in the absence of such representation, no federal taxes should be levied. If this solution were found to be unsatisfactory, he said, it could be changed, and the question of statehood once again considered.

Monroney's proposal seemed particularly appropriate since the attention of the Senate already was distracted from a thorough consideration of the statehood bill by far more dramatic and worrisome matters: McCarthy, the Geneva Conference, Indo-China, the "New Look" and the "H" bomb. Yet it was rejected out of hand, and the votes for statehood seemed, with a few notable exceptions, motivated by political considerations which can only appear as petty when compared to the seriousness of the action. Hawaii is to give the Republicans more voices in Congress; Alaska ditto for the Democrats. The Administration, and the Republican Party, wanted Hawaii only; the Democrats could block Hawaii statehood unless Alaska also was admitted. The Administration seems to have acquiesced —if it has the bill will also pass the House—because Hawaii, which already has adopted a Constitution, can get its men to Congress in 1954, but Alaska, could not until 1956.

But who knows how long the Republicans in Hawaii or the Democrats in Alaska will predominate? Four years? Six? Ten? And is it on the basis of such miniscule considerations that decisions concerning the fundamental structure of our nation are to be taken?

Adlai Stevenson: "Politics First, Principles Second"

. . . THE DISTASTEFUL spectacle of the past several months raises the question which some of us raised a long time ago: Whether the Republican Party is capable of governing the party or whether its irresponsible opposition in the past has disabled the Republican Party for the present.

It is not just the success of the Eisenhower Administration that is at stake. It is not just the fate of the Republican Party that is at stake. It is the fate of all of us.

A year ago tonight I was in Indo-China and every day the peril increases there. Every month more Americans lose their jobs. The ghastly explosions in the Pacific have pointed up the imperative necessity for new and desperate international efforts to control the unknown demons that lurk in the atom.

And yet for weeks and weeks our national life is preoccupied with Republicans quarreling over the discharge of a dentist by the Army. And . . . we wait from day to day for somebody to decide who is lying about what.

Surely the time has come to stop calling names and start tackling problems—the great and urgent problems that face us. . . .

If there is anything to which a free and responsible people is entitled, it is honesty and straight talk in the continuing dialogue between the government and its people.

I do not think we have been getting straight talk from our leaders in recent months. I do not think we have been treated like a mature and responsible nation. I fear that we have been treated as the targets of a sales campaign, and I for one resent it.

The Administration has used this merchandising technique from the very start. In his message to Congress, the President spoke of withdrawing the Seventh Fleet and unleashing the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. This was the big headline. What happened? Nothing of course, because the Seventh Fleet had not interfered with the Nationalist raiders on the mainland for many months, and the President knew it and the commander of the fleet admitted it.

After howling about the secret sell-out at Yalta, Potsdam, etc., during the campaign, in the same message the President asked for a repudiation of secret wartime agreements. What happened? Nothing, because the Administration belatedly discovered that there weren't any secret agreements it wanted to repudiate.

Then there was all the startling talk about their bold, new dynamic policy of "liberation" for the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe. What happened? Nothing, of course, and the "strategy of liberation" and "rolling back" the aggressor turned out to be just another sales slogan.

In recent months we have seen the sorry confusion about the so-called 1,456, 2,200 or 2,400 security risks in government—the subversives, spies and traitors which high officials of the government claimed they had detected and fired. Now it turns out that no more than one has been identified as an alleged Communist, and none of them, so far as I can discover, has even been charged with espionage or treason.

In all earnestness, I think we are entitled to ask how much longer we must put up with this nonsense, this calculated use for political effect of misbranding, misstatement, misrepresentation on great issues—like foreign policy, defense and the loyalty of our servants—where we deserve and demand the fullest honesty and candor about our government.

If this Administration cannot wage a whole-hearted and resolute fight against Senator McCarthy, I won't be surprised. For McCarthy makes a full-time occupation out of the same politics of misbranding and misrepresentation.

You all noticed, by the way, the national applause which greeted Senator Flanders' repudiation of Senator McCarthy a few weeks ago. Shortly after, McCarthy resumed his infamous charge of "twenty years of treason" against the Democrats. And how did Republican Senator Flanders respond? The next day he called McCarthy's speech "magnificent," adding "all will be forgiven if he continues to perform as he did last night."

This evidently sums up the attitude of the Republican high command: Senator McCarthy is a scoundrel if he attacks Republicans, but a patriot when he attacks ordinary people or calls men like Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman the patrons of traitors. In short, politics first and principle second.

As long as the politics of expediency persists, there will be a "mess in Washington." Government by slogan and deception leads all too quickly to government by slander and smear.

When our President bestirs himself, ignores the expedient counsel of small-bore politicians, and clears the high-pressure salesmen out of his house, I confidently predict that the American people will be enthusiastically and gratefully behind him.

But I fear he will have to make his choice between uniting his party and uniting his nation. So long as his party is constituted as it is at present he cannot do both. . . .

—Excerpts from Adlai Stevenson's Speech at Charlotte, N. C., April 2.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

UNTIL RECENTLY there has seemed to be little point in taking sides in the debate over whether Adlai Stevenson is or isn't running for President; but when he issued the manifesto, "Eggheads of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your yolks," the time came to stand up and be counted. If the man isn't running he ought to be.

Whether or not he can beat Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956 I don't know, but that is irrelevant anyhow. The immediately important thing is not to have him elected, but to have him running; for whether or not he can beat Eisenhower, there is no manner of doubt that he can beat all sorts of preposterous notions that at present pass current for ideas, and a man who can clean out even a few of the idiocies now infesting American politics is a man so valuable that his worth is beyond rubies.

Stevenson is obviously not the right kind of candidate for tranquil times. When all is serene the ideal candidate for President is a solemn ass—a William Henry Harrison, a James A. Garfield, a William McKinley, a Calvin Coolidge. But in stormy weather "motley's the only wear" as we discovered in 1861, in 1913 and in 1933. The second date may give some people pause. Lincoln was a wit, as we all know, and Roosevelt we remember as a gay and jocund fellow; but Woodrow Wilson looked so much like the perfect undertaker that we tend to forget how, when reporters brought him bad news from the convention and clamored for a statement he gave them: "You may say that the candidate received the news with a riot of silence," and how at some whistle-stop he mounted a manure-spreader as the only available rostrum, but apologized for standing on a Republican platform, and how he went into the Presidency proclaiming,

> For beauty I am not a star,
> There are others more handsome by far,
> But my face, I don't mind it,
> For I am behind it—
> It's the folks out in front that I jar.

The point is that when all is going well a President may only strut and gurgle generalities and still get by; but when the situation is appalling he must face reality. Of all people the jester is quickest to see the thing as it really is. That is why he laughs, if only because he fears, like Figaro, being obliged to weep. For any man who sees the world clearly must either laugh or weep; it is the purblind who grunt complacently.

How it will be in 1956 I cannot predict, but as of 1954 the weather is certainly stormy and it will not be calmed by the incantations of warlocks intoning that what is good for General Motors is necessarily good for the country and that threats of "massive retaliation" will deter an ingenious and resolute enemy. Such turgid pomposities need puncturing and nothing does it as effectively as a needle-pointed phrase.

Stevenson is adept at producing such phrases, but if he were retired to private life he might not find it worth the trouble. So to keep him in the ring demolishing the sawdust-stuffed guards produced to reassure, and the pasteboard dragons to terrify us, is a highly desirable public service.

Humorless souls may regard this with horror as an incitement to attacks on everything. The humorless are incapable of understanding that satire never permanently damaged anything that is solid. It is blunted by coats of mail and is effective only against stuffed shirts; but the execution it does upon them is very great. Hit a stuffed shirt with a bludgeon and the club may bounce, leaving the shirt undamaged; but a rapier goes through and lets the wind out with startling speed.

If "egghead," for example, had been a genuine epithet with substance, Stevenson's riposte would have fallen flat. But everyone knows that what Senator Fulbright calls "the swinish cult of anti-intellectualism" has been trying to fit yokes to the necks of intellectuals, and that McCarthyism is far more a war upon liberalism than upon Communism. So Stevenson's brilliant pun, plus his sardonic echo of the language of the *Communist Manifesto* was devastating.

While he remains a candidate the campaign will be worth the attention of the intelligent; for among the stuffed clubs and slap-sticks will be at least one Toledo blade, and whenever it flashes sawdust and wind will be spilled like blood upon the field of Gettysburg. In short, while he is a candidate, it will be a real fight; so let him run forever!

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► *Last week, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. wrote that today's Republican and Democratic Parties differ sharply—the one being "the party of the business community"; the other a "party of labor, the intellectuals, the non-conformist businessmen." Mr. Strout continues the discussion, calling for a more meaningful party re-alignment.*

Should Parties Mean Something?

by Richard L. Strout

IT WAS a cool spring evening in May, 1950, and the notables in formal attire went into the Statler Hotel in Washington to enjoy a merry gag that the bright minds of the Gridiron Club had cooked up. There were to be rival political speakers to wind up the dinner, and the representative of the Truman Fair Deal Democrats was to be ultra-conservative, Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, while for the supposedly conservative Republicans the speaker was liberal Wayne Morse of Oregon, who had yet to break from his party.

The situation neatly dramatized how little party labels mean in America. This meaninglessness has continued so long as to be accepted. Indeed now it is rationalized and a whole school of thought has grown up on the philosophy that if American party labels meant anything the nation would founder. Spokesmen of this belief generally ignore several penalties the United States pays for having its curious, unparalleled amorphous party system.

First, let me look at three current rationalists of the parties-shouldn't-mean-anything philosophy.

The able Alfred Friendly, reviewing Sidney Hyman's new book *The American President* (Harper's) in the *Washington Post*, praises Hyman's "dissection of the folly of replacing what have often been called the Tweedledum Republican Party and Tweedledee Democratic Party with parties of 'pure' liberals and conservatives." Mr. Friendly observes, "The idea is, mercifully, heard less often now than at other times in our history."

Another new book is the 25-cent, paper-bound *The United States Political System* by David Cushman Coyle (a Signet Key book). This is a really excellent little book, for all its aberration on the subject I have under discussion. Since these excellent gentlemen, Friendly, Hyman and Coyle are so often right in what they say (though unaccountably dead wrong on this issue), I have no hesitation in commending their works. But "once it is admitted," says Mr. Coyle, "that the American two-party system requires both parties to adopt practically all the principles and programs that any large block of voters may demand" then—says Mr. Coyle—"the resemblance to Tweedledum and Tweedledee is seen to be sensible and necessary." The text leaves in some question whether the sensible Mr. Coyle accepts this initial postulate or harbors mental reservations. At any rate he seems to accept it, though he adds immediately that it is "not surprising that American voters often feel that the Democratic and Republican platforms are practically alike, and that the parties merely have different candidates."

The third and final sample of this approach came in the October, 1950, *Atlantic Monthly*, under the significant title, "Why Have A Labor Party?" The eminent Herbert Agar notes and deplores the fact that, "Many Americans have grown impatient with their illogical parties." Why shouldn't they be illogical, he asks? "Parties based on ideas and principles may be suitable for a little country like England," Mr. Agar says, "but would not be suitable here." He recalls that the Founding Fathers were afraid of parties and that while parties have, it is true, been created, their danger has been reduced by the fact that they are largely shifting coalitions of sectional and local groups. Lack of logic and absence of unifying principles is all for the best, he argues. Once when a party finally did take a position on "principle" see what happened: there was a Civil War. Mr. Agar also supports the Senate filibuster, if I understand him, on the same basis that he supports Tweedledum parties: "The filibuster is an undemocratic veto. . . . Nevertheless, like the amorphous party system . . . it has played a vital role in preserving our federal compromise."

This rationalization of make-believe parties is a symptom of the age. Everywhere there is escapism. The mood brings to politics what is already visible in the arts. In music the *avant garde* gives us symphonies full of discords and cacophonies which nobody enjoys but the musical elite and tomcats. In poetry there is a whole school of sophisticated and unintelligible writers some of whom omit capital letters and punctuation. In prose there are obscurantists like Joyce and Gertrude Stein. In drama

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and philosophy there are the Da-Da-ists and Surrealists, pasting pennies on oil paintings or delivering stage lines dressed in diving helmets. You and I wonder about these things but are told it is for the best. Why shouldn't the same advanced mood enter politics? We already have Tweedledum parties that couldn't be improved upon from the foregoing rules so let us rejoice they are here, say they are necessary, and insist that the introduction of something logical, realistic and sensible would crack the Republic. None of the good fellows cited above would, of course, add the next argument, that party reform is probably "un-American" and "subversive," but I am sure somebody can be found who will take that line.

And yet the apologists for illogical parties ignore the price we pay for them. Mean-nothing parties may reduce political heat, but they also dampen political interest. The turn-out at American elections is mortifyingly small. Nobody can seem to understand why. All the exhortations of all the civic groups in America can't raise the percentage of those who vote at Presidential elections much above 55 percent, it seems, or 33 percent at mid-term elections. And the dear people try so hard. Isn't it because American voters are increasingly cynical about parties that lump Byrd and Humphrey together, and Bricker and Ives?

ANOTHER thought rises. Why do supporters of illogical parties want to get voters to the polls anyway? Isn't the safeguard of this volatile, hysterical America the fact that it has meaningless political parties? Then isn't it a good thing on the whole to keep the untrustworthy people from participating in government on election day?

Yet many people are deeply worried at American apathy. In 1948, 47 million of voting age didn't vote. In 1952 it was better—only 37 million stayed home. This ratio of 55 percent compares to 70 to 90 percent in lands where parties have coherence.

When parties decline in meaning there is a tendency toward leader-worship. The voter gropes for a label better than "In" or "Out." Where he can't find a principle he grabs a personality. Political scientists ask if this couldn't lead toward demagoguery, and in Presidential elections, executive aggrandizement and even personal government?

Just as the self-styled "Tweedledum School" glosses over low voter participation, so its arguments generally point to France, sooner or later, as a horrible example of the way not to do things.

The "look-at-France" is irrelevant. It could be explained, if it were worth while, that the French Government is weak for a number of reasons. Technically the French legislature can, by a curious paradox, throw out the Premier while the Premier (unlike the Prime Minister across the British Channel) can't throw out the legislature. This is tough on Premiers. But it has little to do with conditions in the United States.

Americans have curiously stable institutions. Few nations are so tenacious of ancient practices. Congressional procedure is an attic of hoop-skirts and powdered wigs. Is a nation so durable in its loyalties likely to break away from the traditional two-party system? I think we are wedded to it for keeps, with occasional honorable third parties giving the old ones a transfusion of new ideas. The two-party system will continue, whether the rival politicians are divided over patronage or over principles. The theory that America would fly apart if its political parties introduced order, meaning and judicious discipline is refuted by the experience of Britain, Scandinavia, Canada and all the rest where it is done. In Canada's 1953 general election 70 percent of the voters voted. How little faith Americans have in their own countrymen who fear they can't be trusted with realities. Personally I believe America's genius for self-government surpasses the vaunted British; Britain would collapse under our antique practices in a week.

In 1950 a distinguished committee of the American Political Science Association, in a unanimous report, concluded that American political parties are "now probably the most archaic institutions in the United States." The committee, headed by Professor E. E. Schatteschneider of Connecticut Wesleyan, observed in its document "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," that "the alternatives between the parties are defined so badly that it is often difficult to determine what the election has decided even in the broadest terms." Although every communication and transportation agency is shrinking America, the party structure "is still substantially what it was before the Civil War." Party rivalry itself, they confidently predict, will gradually bring modernization, with the reward going to the first party which acts.

Here are their main criticisms of present party structure:

There is no continuing agency to interpret the party "platform" after its slap-dash invention every four years.

There is no authoritative agency to decide party policies on issues springing up between four-year intervals.

State and federal branches of the same party often have diametrically opposite views of crucial issues.

Even House and Senate groups of the same party differ on what their party stands for and nobody can discipline them.

There is little machinery for members of the party to exert their continuing desire on party leaders in formulating party platforms and party positions.

So runs the indictment.

The apologists for the Tweedledum system may charge that I am unfairly oversimplifying their views. But I assert that is just what the Tweedledum boys do to their opponents.

Typical is the tendentious heading of Herbert Agar's article in which he defends the status quo. The title is "Why Have A Labor Party?" The implication is, of course, that if you disagree with Agar you want a "Labor

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Party," or that, in any event, that is what you will get.

But this is nonsense. You can go in the direction of reform without falling off the precipice of having a labor party (assuming that having a Labor Party is falling off the precipice). Not falling off precipices is what Anglo-Saxon democracy has been doing for a couple of centuries. Canada, incidentally, has no labor party. A historical accident has made the South Democratic, but even the Solid South is tending to break up a bit. The United States could, and should, have two political parties more consistently and coherently approximating the liberal and conservative approaches in America, with discipline enough so that the voter would know what he was voting for and—if his side won—of getting it.

As for the Congressman, he could have the fun of telling a selfish pressure group to go to blazes if he carried the insurance of a reasonably disciplined party supporting specific principles. It is hard for me to think of anything more democratically stimulating than giving the nation real parties.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Liberal and Conservative Parties Defined

THE SYSTEM of party responsibility in America requires that one of its parties be the liberal party and the other the conservative party. This has been the division by which the major parties in American history have identified themselves whenever crises have developed which required definite choice of direction. . . .

One great difference which has characterized this division has been that the liberal party—no matter what its particular name was at the time—believed in the wisdom and efficacy of the will of the great majority of the people, as distinguished from the judgment of a small minority of either education or wealth.

The liberal group has always believed that control by a few—political control or economic control—if exercised for a long period of time, would be destructive of a sound representative democracy. For this reason, for example, it has always advocated the extension of the right of suffrage to as many people as possible, trusting the combined judgment of all the people in political matters rather than the judgment of a small minority.

The other great difference between the two parties has been this: the liberal party is a party which believes that, as new conditions and problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the government itself to find new remedies with which to meet them. The liberal party insists that the government has the definite duty to use all its power and resources to meet new social problems with new social controls. . . . That theory of the role of government was expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he said "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate or individual capacities."

The conservative party in government honestly and conscientiously believes the contrary. It believes that there is no necessity for the government to step in, even when new conditions and new problems arise. It believes that, in the long run, individual initiative and private philanthropy can take care of all situations. The text of allegiance to one or the other of these schools of political and economic thought cannot be based on a person's views with respect to one particular measure or policy or even several of them. The test is rather whether a person adheres to the broad general objectives of the particular party as expressed in its fundamental principles. . . .

It is a comparatively simple thing for a nation to determine by its votes whether it chooses the liberal or the conservative form of government. On the other hand, a nation can never intelligently determine its policy, if it has to go through the confusion of voting for candidates who pretend to be one thing but who act the other.

I have always believed, and I have frequently stated, that my own party can succeed at the polls only so long as it continues to be the party of militant liberalism. . . .

. . . I took an active part in some of the primary elections of 1938—in an effort to keep liberalism in the foreground in the councils of my own party, as well as in the legislative and executive branches of the government itself. My participation in these primary campaigns was slurringly referred to by those who were opposed to liberalism as a "purge." . . . Nothing could be further from the truth. I was not interested in personalities. Nor was I interested in particular measures because most of the liberal measures I had recommended had already passed. I was, however, primarily interested in seeing to it that the Democratic Party and the Republican Party should not be Tweedledum and Tweedledee to each other.

(Written by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as an Introduction to Volume 7 of The Public Papers and Addresses of FDR; *Macmillan.)*

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In his article last week, written from Indo-China on his third visit, Mr. Greene said "it would be hard for either army to lose the war, and certainly neither can win it." In his concluding observations, the noted British author says "complete independence" is freedom's only hope.

"To Hope Till Hope Creates"

by Graham Greene

Saigon

AFTER ALL, in Viet-Minh during the last two years, there had been a change more important than the traffic lights in Saigon. Until General De Lattre left for Paris and death at the end of 1951, the war could be regarded as military. France was magnificently on the defensive—under De Lattre's predecessor she had come so close to defeat and demoralization that the defensive by itself was a kind of military victory. Early in 1951, I listened to De Lattre opening a club for veterans of the First Army. "We will never evacuate Hanoi," he told the members. "I have left my beloved wife here as a proof." A few months before women and children were being officially evacuated, and his words were as decisive as a victory. Now no one believes in the military capture of Hanoi any more than in the military defeat of General Giap, the ex-professor of history and geography who has demonstrated again to the world the value of an amateur soldier in a revolutionary army. The war has become political.

Revolution can only be conquered by a revolutionary spirit. The Viet-Namese will not have the heart for a hard civil war until they feel they have gained independence and are fighting to preserve their liberty. Under De Lattre, Viet-Nam took a step toward the kind of independence that might easily have been attained in 1946 at Fontainebleau before the constitution of the French Union had hardened. Ho Chi Minh, who remains the only leader with a popular following in Viet-Nam, seems to have been genuinely anxious to retain a measure of French influence. M. Sainteny, who compares him with Gandhi in his reluctance to use force, who negotiated with him in Hanoi and accompanied him to Fontainebleau, writes: "He is disposed to allow France to safeguard that which is closest to his heart: his economic and cultural interests." He quotes Ho Chi Minh as saying:

"Although we wish to govern ourselves and insist that you withdraw your administrators, I do need your professors, your engineers and your funds with which to build a strong, free Viet-Nam."

After more than seven years of war one wonders whether there is a single Frenchman who would not accept that definition of independence, but what is acceptable now to France has become unacceptable to the Viet-Minh.

De Lattre was completely sincere when he spoke of independence, but he was a soldier and not a diplomat, and the natural suspicion the Viet-Namese feel for the French was not allayed by his ill-phrased speech in America when he compared present Viet-Namese independence within the French Union with Australian independence within the British Commonwealth, nor by his appointment of the police chief, Mr. Tam, as president—Mr. Tam who was tied to French interests by the loss of a wife, a son and a finger through Viet-Minh action. The Viet-Namese could even then have been rallied by some striking symbol of independence—there is a time for symbolic acts to relieve the tedium of slow constitutional progress. The unfortunate National Congress was no such symbol, but a personal disaster for the Emperor who had demanded it, for the president who had unwillingly followed instructions and for the French who were politically exposed by it.

We in the West are dominated by the idea of adult suffrage, but adult suffrage means chaos or corruption in a country like Viet-Nam with no political traditions, a majority of illiterate peasants and no political parties as we know the term. Political parties in Viet-Nam, apart from the religious sects, the Caodaists, the Hoa Haos, the Catholics, have no platforms, no records of membership, no contact with the working class; even the nationalist Dai-Vit party of the north, whose leader is now the

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governor of Tonkin, is less a party than a group of men who supply funds and under a Dai-Vit governor receive the fruits of office. In power the party consists of civil servants, out of power of men waiting to be civil servants. The weakness, until recently, of the central government has been threefold: the necessity to give ministerial posts to each group that calls itself a party and to each sect, the necessity of compromising with the French authorities, and the necessity of satisfying, perhaps sometimes by inactivity, the Chief of State, the Emperor Bao Dai.

THE FRENCH choice in 1946 of what was known as "la solution Bao Dai" may well prove disastrous, for the Emperor, linked by education and self-interest to France, has absolute power to dismiss the president and government. There is no appeal, and every government is aware of the influences exercised behind the scenes, not only by the French authorities but by such prominent foreign visitors as Mr. Nixon, the Vice President of the United States. Any government with a genuine program of reform faces a blank wall, a time limit, the knowledge that beyond a certain point lies the wilderness. If independence is to be secured by Viet-Nam peacefully and not by Viet-Minh violently, one is forced to the conclusion that the country needs a genuine president rather than an emperor of doubtful qualifications.

Even in Annam, the traditional home of the emperors, loyalty to Bao Dai has waned during the last few years, and his popularity even in that state has never equalled Ho Chi Minh's. It must be remembered that no great divinity hedges this sovereign. As an emperor he was handpicked—a former emperor lived in retirement until recently and his true successor—a young man of outstanding ability—was killed in a plane crash on his way back to the country. Bao Dai abdicated once in 1945 (to become chief adviser to Ho Chi Minh under the name of M. Vinh Thuy), and perhaps that position accords better with the constitutional progress of Viet-Nam.

The powers of Bao Dai are such that when I write of the present government I am aware that it may belong to the past before these words are printed. One hopes not, for Prince Buu Loc's government is the first since the war with the strength and incorruptibility to establish a genuine concordat with the French. In Europe a strong government is a government with popular support; here, without elections and without real parties, a strong government is a group of individuals with a common aim and determination, free from corruption and free from the necessity of clinging to office for the sake of the perquisites. Never before in Viet-Nam has there been a government with a common aim, for every previous government has included the sects and there is little in common between the Caodaists, the Hoa Haos and the Catholics. One doubts too if there has ever before been a government free from serious corruption, and certainly none where the chief ministers were indifferent to the fruits of office. At its inception Prince Buu Loc's government was criticized because many of the leading personalities, including the president himself, knew Paris better than the Viet-Nam, but one doubts whether any previous president, whether ex-accountant or ex-police chief, had a profound knowledge of the peoples of Cochin China or Tonkin. The new ministers have one enormous advantage over former administrations—they do not depend on politics for a living, they can pack up and return to France and the work they left from motives of patriotism (the Minister for Foreign Affairs for instance is professor of international law at Toulouse University). They are nearly all young men—the average age of the ministers cannot be much over 40—and they have exceptional opportunities for political blackmail—"unless we can reach agreement you can find another government." The French respect them as they may not always have respected more pliable ministries.

But the problem of the emperor remains—does he really desire the independence of his country if independence threatens the security of the royal domains and interests? Certainly there is a suspicion that the old dowager empress at Hué is not without power. It may have been imagination, but one seemed to detect a certain disillusionment among ministers after a month of office, as though they had begun to discover where so many tracks led, to the palace at Dalat, the hunting lodge of Ban Mé Thuot, the palace of Hué built in imitation of the forbidden City of Peking. They had taken office with gaiety and enthusiasm, their austerity rules were smiled at (orange juice instead of champagne at official receptions), but they were a symbol that De Lattrè would have approved, and the appointment of a new ministry of democratization, vague though its functions were, promised relief from the old bureaucracy. Yet after a month, was there a first rift between those prepared to have a raid, however brief, behind the lines of privilege, and those who began to lose confidence against ever successfully battling against the great amorphous Boyg? Whatever the outcome no Viet-Namese Government has taken office with purer motives, and one hopes these lines will not be printed as an epitaph.

The possibilities of blackmail have been vividly shown by King Norodom of Cambodia. French propagandists have drawn the picture of a playboy king, making and acting in his own films, leading a phony army on a phony operation, and foreign newspapers under Paris date lines have printed the same picture. But one should judge by results. The King's impulsive departure to Siam and his brief exile won from the French more concessions than Bao Dai has ever gained by his more hidden tactics, and the military operation led to the surrender of two out of three guerrilla leaders who were satisfied that the king was winning independence for his people. Nor has the King yet exhausted his powers of blackmail. If this tiny state should choose to leave the French Union, economic sanctions are all that could be applied and bankruptcy would be less serious to Cambodia than the effect of her

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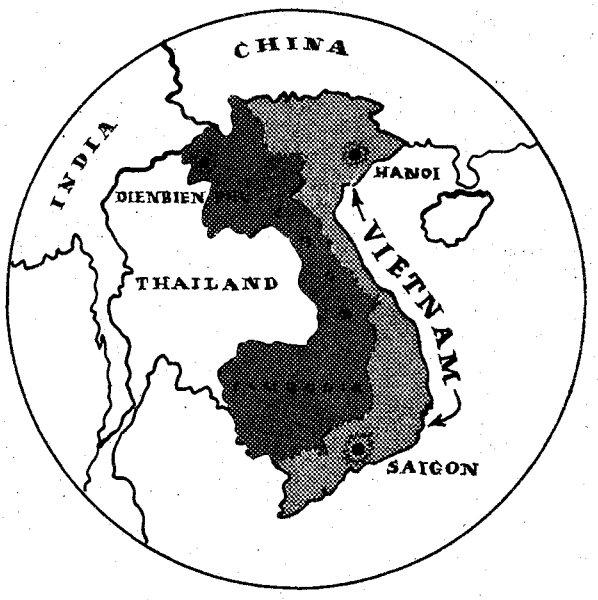
action to France in Africa. The lesson of Cambodia is presumably being studied in Saigon.

There is a race now in Viet-Nam between independence and war weariness. French policy is no longer a problem—never has there been less suspicion of French intentions. The great French companies have decided to quit, they are moving their assets, even the Banque de l'Indo-Chine is shifting her massive weight toward South Africa. Without the Emperor, Prince Buu Loc's government might quickly reach an agreement with France. If no agreement is reached weariness and division may well suggest quack remedies. The possibility of surrendering Annam and Tonkin and establishing a Cochin China republic becomes again the subject of dinner table discussion. A French labor leader has rashly declared that Eisenhower is prepared to guarantee such a republic with 21 divisions, and the pipe-dream of substituting American for French Union troops might lead to a disastrous temporary peace that would abandon many non-Communist nationalists to the mercy of Viet-Minh—in particular the Catholic populations of the north, Thai-Bin Buichu and Phat-Diem.

WILL INDEPENDENCE come too late? Has the control of the Viet-Minh movement passed irrevocably into the hands of the Communists? Has Ho Chi Minh been converted to the solution by violence which he so long opposed or is he a virtual prisoner in Communist hands? Are there still sufficient nationalists fighting with Giap for their defection to weaken him? My own rational answers would be uniformly pessimistic. I believe the moment of independence has been delayed too long. I believe in no solution for this unhappy country except what is dictated around the counsel tables of Geneva, Washington, Peking and Moscow. I do not believe that ever again will one see the strange sunsets falling on Bai d'Along, the lamp glowing on the cook's face as he prepares the opium pipe. The last performance has begun: a country one has loved is about to retire behind the curtain. But because a game is nearly lost, there is no point in not playing the last card of any value (one cannot do more than lose), and that card is complete independence.

And even now one can experience fleetingly a little hope, however illusory. During January, I spent three days in Buichu, the scene of the surrender of the Viet-Namese battalions. New Viet-Namese troops had been sent in, a new commandant, only one small artillery post on the perimeter flew the French flag; this small pocket of Viet-Nam under its courageous Annamite bishop was to all intents independent. The commandant was Buddhist, but he felt behind him a population united by their Christianity—not the Christianity of new converts but of men and women whose great grandparents had survived the Emperor's persecution a hundred years ago when to shelter a missionary entailed death under the elephant's hoof.

Gunfire was almost continuous, but under that mantle



of sound new converts were baptised, a new church dedicated. Last summer the Viet-Minh attacked the Seminary (kidnapping almost the only foreign priests) and shot down four Viet-Namese sisters in the chapel. "Then," an old priest said to me, "I began to learn French." In the school small girls in silk trousers and blue jackets sang for me what they called a song of peace, weaving their tiny fingers that might at any moment break into flower at the tips. "We want only peace, to live quietly in friendship, but if the Communists come, we will fight them and kill them. . . ."

"If all villages were like Thui-Nhai," the commandant said, "there would be no problem in the delta." This village guarded by its own militia had defeated nine attacks between August and December 30. The militia consisted of the whole population—from old men to girls of 12. They paraded before the church gay with Viet-Namese flags—the small girls carried knives and wore hand grenades on their belts. A maze of mud walls, rifle emplacements in the church itself, a mortar built out of any old junk, this was indeed total war. A Viet-Namese priest described the young leader: "He is a commandant without rank or pay who eats his mother's rice in return for fighting his father's enemies."

I thought in contrast of the cripples scrambling from the Hanoi bus, the exhaustion and the indifference. Of course one cannot put one's hope of a country on a single village and a homemade mortar, and yet as the sound of the evening guns flapped over the rice fields in the late golden light, one thought how in the break-up of a world there was no point in anything but irrational hope, "to hope till hope creates. From its own wreck the thing it contemplates." I noted in my journal, "Yesterday the commandant of the 46th Viet-Minh Regiment came in to surrender carrying with him plans for the capture of Buichu. . . ."

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The "Agonizing Reappraisal" Has Begun

The chosen instrument of US policy, Germany advances to power

by Frank Gorrell

A NEW European military geography is being mapped and a new European geopolitics is being sketched despite, without and perhaps even against the French. The broad arc of the Radford Line which now sweeps through the Mediterranean from Cadiz in Southern Spain to Iskenderun in Turkey just north of the Syrian frontier is to curve further southward. If Admiral Fechteler and the US Joint Chiefs of Staff have their way—and with NATO support they are likely to—the line will include two great harbor-airbases in French North Africa. These are Mers-el-Kebir Oran in Western Morocco and Bizerte in Tunisia, locations where the French dread having Americans for fear of their effect on the already weakening ties between Paris and the Sherifian Empire.

And if Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has his way—about which there no longer seems much doubt—radial lines of political power are to be drawn from the new German heartland to the three European peninsulas jutting to the Radford Line—the Iberic, Italic and Balkan. These will either skip France altogether or pass through territory the French once considered properly within their zone of influence.

A species of new European defense community is in fact coming into being, and in ways and directions perhaps even less welcome to those Frenchmen who fear the present EDC plan. Of course the French government professes to want the National Assembly to ratify by the month of May at the latest the treaty which the French themselves originally conceived as the best means of giving their country an important place in the new European geography and geopolitics. But wanting even more to stay in office at least until the autumn, Premier Laniel and Foreign Minister Bidault still balk at taking the chance of a parliament rebuff of the EDC, which would almost certainly mean their downfall. The price of the delay is the absence and the isolation of France.

For their passive political and psychological resistance to the European master plan of the US military New Look, on the ground that it favors Germany, is showing itself no more effective in stopping the German advance to power than was the Maginot Line.

As might have been expected, the most effective artisan of the new European geopolitics is a German. While the French have been talking about the past, Konrad Adenauer has been in effect traveling to the future. In the context of European political dynamics, few more important trips have been made by a statesman since the end of the war than his to Athens, Ankara and Rome. Whereas he went to Washington and, in a measure, to Paris as a suppliant, he was received in the three Southern capitals as a mentor and guide. And to the last of the peninsulas there was no need to go: a Madrid-Bonn axis is already explicit.

In Ankara, in particular, Adenauer was received with open arms. For nearly 100 years Turkish foreign policy has been dominated by the idea that Germany's military power could counterbalance Russia's threat to Turkey. This idea produced pro-German policies during the reigns of the last Sultans and the period of the Young Turks. Now, after a brief interval, the new Turkey has come to a similar conclusion. The French have lost their foothold in the Near East. The Americans who are replacing the British in that area are not feared by the Turks as were the British. So Germany's road through the Balkans to the East is once again opening.

In Athens the German Chancellor was given a more restrained but not less cordial welcome. The West German press, especially the *Deutsche Korrespondenz,* called careful attention to the fact that the Greeks had already shown signs of good will. The Greek government, it was pointed out, was the first to overcome a natural resentment against the Germans because of the Nazi misdeeds during the war; Athens harboring no grudges turned toward the future, embarked on a policy of appeasement, accepting the need for a continental community of resolutely anti-Communist and anti-Russian European nations. A year ago the government dropped all pending war criminals trials. The city of Kalavryta, destroyed by the Nazis with the massacre of all its men, accepted—unlike the French town of Oradour—the help of the Bonn government in its reconstruction.

Conditions are not yet ripe for a visit by Adenauer to the missing Balkan link. Yet Belgrade already figures in the new European geopolitics. While Adenauer was in Rome, where he discussed with Premier Scelba not only Italy's ratification of the EDC but also the resumption of close Italo-German relations, the joint chiefs of staff of the three nations of the Balkan pact—Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia—were meeting in Ankara. And one of the purposes of Marshal Tito's trip—in the footsteps of Adenauer—is to provide a link, however indirect, between Belgrade and Bonn.

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The addition of Mers-el-Kebir and Bizerte to the chain of bases, equipped for the stocking of new (atomic) weapons, along the Radford Line will—if it takes place—be catastrophic news for the French enemies of the EDC—from the neutralists to the nationalist imperialists. It will on the other hand confirm Generalissimo Francisco Franco and General Garcia Valino in the wisdom of their calculated gamble against the French in North Africa. And if the French flag cedes to or even shares with the American flag over these nominally French empire harbor-bases while the Spanish flag alone flies over the nominally American bases in Spain, Madrid's stock in the Arab world will rise high and fast.

From the point of view of the US New Look, the new bases will go far toward completing the Southern chain which extends—or will extend—from Europe to Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan. The visit of the new Iraqi king to Karachi is a plain indication of what is going on behind the scenes. But men close to the NATO inner circle deny the French claim that the shift of the west-center of the Radford Line to strong points in North Africa means a turn by the US from territorial to peripheral defense of the European continent.

The US, they say, still founds its strategy both on the EDC and on territorial defense, that is, the presence of US troops in Western Europe. This is just as necessary as British presence militarily on the continent—or even better, British joining of the EDC—and French acceptance of German rearmament. But whether or not the French join the EDC, one of the purposes of the Adenauer trip is to sketch the geopolitics of a connection between the Western European pattern and the Balkan alliance.

For what is involved is the new "double Dulles doctrine"—*both* territorial *and* peripheral defense, both the foresight of little wars and of the one, big annihilatory war. Agonizing or not, the reappraisal already has taken place. Some time in May, perhaps after the Geneva Conference, perhaps after the French National Assembly's discussion of the EDC, or perhaps before—if the Russian New Look becomes more militarily menacing—the block in Bonn to the first step in German rearmament—already voted by both houses of the German parliament—will be removed. If the French High Commissioner continues on the orders of Paris to object, ways will be found by the US and British High Commissioners to give the green light anyway.

The Russians know this quite well. One indication is the rain of protests that has been pouring from Moscow on all the European capitals which are accepting their roles in the US New Look. Another is the fact that in all the Russian satellites, from the Baltic to the Balkans, Russian officers, or Russian-trained ones, are taking over control of the armies; and into the posts of ambassador are going trusted Russian Communist Party stalwarts.

As for the French, a leader of the resistants to the EDC, the Gaullist Sen. Edmond Michelet, threatens the organization of "new conscientious objectors" against "the dangerous Europe of the denationalized stateless and the technocrats"—meaning the Germans and the Americans. This "living resistance," he says, "will rest on popular bases founded on ideas as simple and as old as the world itself: the defense of altars and homes." It doesn't seem a kind of power that can compete with the new bomb at Bikini—500 or 600 times as great as that of the bomb at Hiroshima.

As Seen from Eastern Europe

Soviet propaganda is saved from fantasy by a flesh and blood man

by Thomas Goldstein

SENATOR MCCARTHY is at great pains these days to identify the Communist Party as the source of all resistance to his drive for power. Flinging copies of *The Daily Worker* on to the press tables below his public platform, he cites its editorials as proof that the Communists must, as a matter of life and death, destroy him, and adds in sorrow that they seem to be dragging misguided liberals, Democrats, and even a few Eisenhower Republicans along in tow. An analysis of recent editorials and radio broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain, however, suggests that McCarthy's claim is far from the truth.

The Communist hate-America campaign was languishing when McCarthy launched his attack on the Army. Then, in March, new orders went out to Communist radio commentators and editorial writers from Leningrad to Bucharest. In place of the overworked fabrications about American fascism the propagandists were ordered

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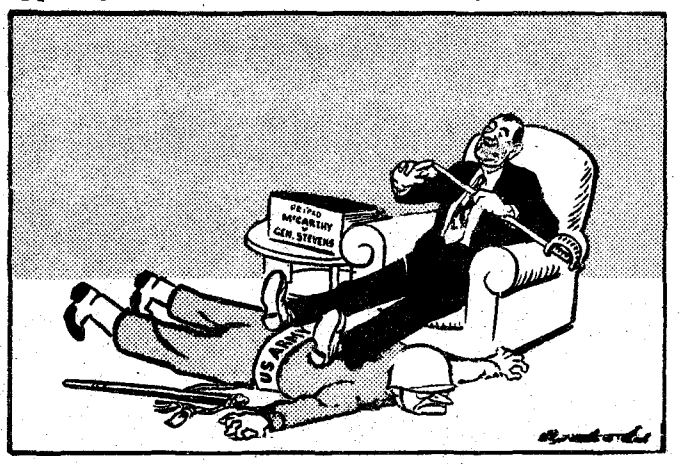
to work more closely to actual events, and to conclude from them that a recognizable fascist movement was in the making on Capitol Hill. Not a figment of Soviet propaganda, but a flesh and blood man was held up to the subject peoples of Russia and the satellites to justify the oppression and excesses of Communist rule.

Thus, on March 17, Warsaw's radio commentator Gustav Kaden compared McCarthy to the Poles' well-remembered enemy, Adolph Hitler. Building his case, Kaden added that McCarthy was being financed by Texas oil millionaires, "the most reactionary and war-minded section of American monopoly capitalism," just as their counterparts, the Ruhr industrialists had paved Hitler's road to power. Moscow Radio on March 6 reported the "whipping up of hysteria on a nationwide scale" in America and took pains to corroborate McCarthy's thesis that he speaks for the Republican Party. Moscow Radio said of the Senator on March 6: "He is actually doing the work which the ruling quarters find necessary." Again, Kaden, elaborating on this new thesis, spoke of the climate of mutual spying and distrust, the compulsion to turn in "false accusations against one's friends, acquaintances and family," the terror "particularly among white-collar workers of being summoned for the fatal hearing" (before the McCarthy Senate Subcommittee), the attack on constitutional rights and civil liberties and the impending triumph of fascism in America. To the South, the Czechoslovak newspaper *Pràca* of Bratislava informed its readers that the American fuehrer's "scandalous popularity" was increasing "by the hour rather than by the day." *Pràca*, on March 7, warned Czech workers to have no confidence in America, speaking of "the reactionary hysteria, the muddy waters of which are flooding the entire public life of the USA."

The initial surrender of Army Secretary Stevens on the matter of General Zwicker was fully exploited as additional proof of the Communist case. *Pràca* even reported in an editorial "a rebellion inside the Army" in support of McCarthy—inciting its readers to draw the parallel in the rise of the Nazi party.

Communist propaganda exploits McCarthy rather than opposing him for the Kremlin. McCarthy is too valuable to be destroyed. Yet there remains a knot in the Soviet line. If McCarthy's advances permit an approach toward reality in Soviet propaganda, with undoubted gains in acceptance among its audiences, reality presents also the curious phenomenon of open opposition to McCarthy, with the possibility that it may gain in strength. The initial Soviet directives seem to have mastered this dilemma in customary fashion. Every Iron Curtain editorial and radio comment on the Stevens incident accorded with the analysis presented by Valentin Zorin on a Moscow home broadcast. There was, Zorin conceded, a "wave of discontent" sweeping the United States, which found fault with McCarthy; nonetheless (as Zorin explained) the US "ruling circles" were on the whole highly pleased with McCarthy's achievements.



—from the Czechoslovakian Newspaper, "Praca"

"The newest picture of the great fighting force of the Western 'democracy'."

The motives of the ruling-circles were outlined in characteristic Marxist terms. As Valentin Zorin explained to Soviet audiences on March 4: "The acute aggravation of the economic situation in the United States, the steady rise in unemployment, and the constant decline in the living standards of the workers arouse discontent among the American people. . . . Under these circumstances, the top crust of the Republican Party has decided to push Senator McCarthy on the political stage, hoping that his unbridled propaganda campaign will divert the attention of the American workers from their pressing problems."

Once this has been explained, the wholesale "fascistization" of America seems to follow. As the Hungarian paper *Magyar Nemzet* of March 10 adds: "The Eisenhower-McCarthy duel is nothing but a show. The Morgans and the du Ponts are simply telling the two sides to use a somewhat different tone."

For the first time in years, the Soviet propaganda script is not just a series of hollow clichés. Many an Eastern European Socialist, cut off from all unbiased information, may have been struck by the unaccustomed ring of truth and the sudden flow of factual reports from the US.

The Communists have achieved this gain in credibility at a calculated risk. In relinquishing the realm of fabrication to report McCarthy's successes, they have become dependent on the ups and downs of American ethics. As long as McCarthy rides the crest of the wave, the Communists can tell their story convincingly. But as soon as it appears that McCarthy may be checked, his value is undermined for the Communist psychological warfare team. That ominous parallel with Hitler Germany, which the Communist propaganda machine has been publicizing with all its power, would break down at the decisive point. Iron Curtain propaganda would once more be forced to take flight into its world of fantasy. It would have the additional burden of explaining how it is that a people can halt a totalitarian movement in its tracks.

Roughly since mid-March, Iron Curtain media have again fallen silent on McCarthy and the "fascistization" of America. Moscow's chief propagandists seem to suspect that they have gone out on a limb. They are undoubtedly keeping a close watch to see whether events will help or hinder their propaganda line.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Irrational Elements in Art and Politics

by Lewis Mumford

WE ARE LIVING in a society whose present character and condition were first prophetically disclosed in two American tales, that of Hawthorne's *Ethan Brand* and that of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. Ethan Brand, the lime burner, the prototype of the dehumanized technician, by seeking knowledge and power alone cuts himself off by degrees from the magnetic chain of humanity: in the end he incinerates himself in his own furnace. As for Melville's epic, his Captain Ahab, who rejects the claims of both divine and human love, finally grapples with his consecrated enemy, the White Whale, only to bring himself and his ship to utter destruction—though for an instant, before the pursuit has reached its climax, he says to himself in one last flash of lucidity: "All my means are sane; my motives and object, mad."

Unfortunately for us today the means have now become as irrational as our purposes; for in the very act of piling up weapons of extermination our leaders constantly assure us, with a laudable anxiety that alas! reveals their inner confusion, not only that there can be no victory, but that the employment of these instruments might wipe out the human race, or even destroy all life on the planet. That contradiction between our totalitarian military instruments and our democratic political ends gives the final measure of the irrationality of our time. Our works of love have marvellously succeeded: witness the re-building of Europe under the Marshall Plan. But our works of power have miserably failed. Most of the means we have taken to ensure military victory, during the last ten years, have so far led to defeat. The measures we have adopted for national security have enormously magnified every danger and enslaved us to your fears: the measures we have taken to detect traitorous accomplices of the Russian state have subverted the American constitution more effectively than thirty years of Communist espionage and plotting: the measures we have taken to promote the physical sciences rapidly have led to the stultification of that great scientific tradition of intercommunication, which alone made possible the fission of the atom. In the name of freedom we are rapidly creating a police state; and in the name of democracy we have succumbed, not to creeping Socialism but to galloping Fascism, in which official scandal sheets spotted with anonymous lies, fabrications, and distortions, have been used in an attempt to destroy overnight the reputation and political effectiveness of honorable, patriotic men, like Bishop Oxnam. While our jet planes can girdle the earth at a faster rate than sound, freedom of travel and communication, among scholars and men of science, is now curtailed, not only in Russia but in the United States, on grounds as capricious and nonsensical as the whole legal process that Kafka described in his prophetic novel, *The Trial*.

Yes: *The Trial* is the great symbol of this period of irrational politics. Each one of us, as in Kafka's novel, is likely to have his life disposed of—individually and collectively — by irresponsible powers, powers insidiously automatic, impervious to rational direction, deaf to human pleas and petitions; powers he is never allowed to confront, powers he is never able to challenge, powers that operate in the dark under remote compulsions that have no rational basis and no valid human purpose. In such a state of society, which I analyzed with some fullness in *The Conduct of Life*, the higher functions of the human spirit become paralyzed, and authority passes to the lower functions, to automatisms and reflexes, to primitive urges that have not undergone rational scrutiny and that have not been directed toward high and humane goals. When this happens, we do not return to a merely animal level: we return to a plane far below that, at which we point we may lose even the animal's aptitude for challenge, resistance, insurgence: in short, for striking back.

Too many of us have already descended to the level of the docile robot, manipulated by remote control. But note this: when human beings are cut off from a purposeful and meaningful life, they not merely lose the animal capacity for self-preservation, but even the very will to live. This propensity to self-destruction is the nemesis of irrationality; but unfortunately, with the powers that we now command, before we destroy our enemy and ourselves, we may also destroy the whole fabric of mankind's life. Lord Acton's oft-repeated dictum on the pathology of power, that "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely," is now undergoing its final demonstration. We are living in an age when finite human beings, subject to sin and error, beings of plainly limited intellectual capacities, open to erratic promptings, have assumed control of energies of cosmic dimensions. That dangerous fact has been made infinitely more dangerous by the wall of secrecy that has been erected around these powers, and by the atmosphere of fear, suspicion, isolation, non-communication that the very nature of these destructive weapons and instruments has helped to produce. As a result, issues that concern humanity as a whole have been treated as if they were of purely national concern; plans and policies that should have been subject to open discussion and earnest moral debate have been made in closed chambers without benefit of public reflection by men with minds even more tightly shut than the doors that guarded them. Nowhere has the democratic process, indeed the bare protections of constitutional government, been more consistently flouted than in the field of preparation for total genocide. Nowhere have moral judgments been more completely paralyzed than in the very area where moral judgments alone could preserve our humanity.

There is indeed one grave flaw in all these irrational preparations: they cannot afford the risk of open public discussion, of intelligent re-assessment of the means to be used and the ends to be achieved, of rigorous and realistic moral judgment. Such judgment not only concerns itself with the principle of doing reverence to all life, but it understands that there are moral norms —natural laws if not divine commands

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—that no self-respecting person, *yes and no self-respecting nation,* can afford to violate merely to preserve its own existence.

Because this flaw is a serious one, the general conspiracy of silence that now prevails must be fortified by the invention of a new heresy and a new crime: a crime more serious than that of sympathizing with Communism or of engaging in treasonable activities on behalf of Soviet Russia. The crime I refer to—forgive me for countenancing this heresy—is the crime of being human. Who are the marked men and women among us today? Who are the ultimate security risks? They are the people who still retain and still cherish all their human attributes; people who are trusting, tender-hearted, responsive, co-operative, curious, intelligent, humorous, capable of human sympathy and love. People who read widely and think critically, who are not afraid to exchange opinions with those they differ from, who trust their neighbors and are magnanimous to their enemies, who believe in freedom for others as well as for themselves; people who are fully committed to democracy, who are ready to challenge arbitrary authority, and rise as Walt Whitman commanded "against the never-ending audacity of elected persons." Such people, the very salt of American democracy, hold a hand uplifted over irrationality, if not over fate; and fortunately, as long as they exist, not by the thousands, but by the tens of millions, there is still a prospect of recovering from the state of collective paranoia, of pathological suspicion and isolation, into which our country has so swiftly fallen.

The leaven of Christianity is still at work among these sweetly sane people, and the lessons of the New Testament, so easy to disregard in happier times, have come home to them as perhaps the ultimate word in practical statesmanship, if we are not to resign ourselves prematurely to mankind's annihilation through the misuse of the very forces man's intellect has brought to light. There will be no lifting of the catastrophic threat that hangs over mankind, making blank and valueless all activities that conserve the past and mold the future, until we recover as a nation the capacity to be human again. The preliminary step toward justice and peace, toward trustful human intercourse between peoples, is the capacity to feel love in our hearts, and to bestow love even on our enemies, in the hope of reawakening their own humanness, their own potential capacity for love. It is easy, as Henry James, Sr. once remarked, to love those who love us, or who are in themselves lovable. But true love demands something more than that: it requires that we do good to them that hate us and use us despitefully; for only such love can transcend our easy, self-justifying repulsions and remove, from our enemy's heart, his abiding fear of our own hateful intentions. Anything that can be called statesmanship today rests on the practice of love, of a love that is capable of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, of a humility and patience as deep as Lincoln expressed in his Second Inaugural Address. By the same token, any policy that rests on the delusions of grandeur and pride in possession of absolute power must be as self-defeating, indeed as suicidal, as is the degraded mental state of which it is, in fact, the clinical expression.

Need we carry the political or aesthetic analysis any further? The theme of this essay is not, it goes without saying, open to any laboratory demonstration. All I could hope to do was to indicate a possible connection between the disturbing symbols of fashionable modern art, so empty, so valueless and meaningless, so chaotic and random, and the deeply irrational quality taken on by political life today, in which absolute power has become another name for impotence, in which security becomes more terrifyingly absent with every new physical instrument invented to produce it, in which the final destination of our whole civilization could be represented only by such a form as unorganized and meaningless particles floating at random about an otherwise vacant canvas.

In both art and politics we have reached the last blank wall of the meaninglessness: the complete negation of all human values and purposes. That is the ABC lesson of the ABC war—the seemingly innocent classification that has been given to atomic, biological and chemical genocide. The only intelligible fact that post-abstract painting discloses is that life has become purposeless. The only idea that is conveyed by its lack of form and design is that the next step—and the last one—is chaos: the chaos of a final wasteland in which all order and design derived from life have returned to aimless dust and rubble. In bringing these new facts and these new symbols together, I have, I hope, at least opened the way for a clearer insight into the human problems of our time: problems that transcend art and science and politics. The corrupt purposes that we passively participate in, the immoral acts we have accepted in the name of expediency or practicality or even of financial economy, the irrational compulsions that we have bowed to with the respect we owe only to reason—all these things are not fixed and fated. We need not submit to these dehumanized processes and these life-negating mechanisms. To be human is to understand, to evaluate, to choose, to accept responsibility. As Robinson Jeffers once wrote, corruption never was compulsory, and the existentialist, Sartre, has more recently made the same observation.

We have *made* ourselves into the creatures we have, so deplorably, become. Let us look at that new image in the national mirror, and be properly horrified and frightened by it. *Is this America?* Is this walled-in enclosure we have locked ourselves into a home or an asylum? Let us look into the eyes of our foreign neighbors, at our friends in other parts of the world, and understand why they are so deeply shocked by what they see. Once we have seen ourselves, we need not maintain a discreet silence about our condition—as I have tried, in the course of this lecture, modestly to demonstrate. We have still another choice open: the choice of renewing our integrity, our sanity, our humanity.

And this brings me, finally, back to the artist, whose last message I have tried to interpret. If he is not to betray his art as well as his humanity, he must not think that nausea and vomit are the ultimate realities of our time. Those obscenities are indeed a part of the actual world we are conditioned to; but they do not belong to the possible world of the creator and the transvaluer, who brings forth out of his own depths new forms and values that point to new destinations. The artist, too, has the responsibility to be sane, the duty to be whole and balanced, the obligation to overcome or transform the demonic and to release the more human and divine elements in his own soul: in short, the artist has the task of nourishing and

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developing every intuition of love and of finding images through which they become visible. If all he can say in his pictures is, "This is the end"—let it be the end and let him say no more about it. Let him be silent until he has recovered to the capacity to conjure up once more, however timidly at first, a world of fine perceptions and rich feeling, of values that sustain life and coherent forms that re-enforce the sense of human mastery.

No one has fully taken in all the new dimensions of our world; no one effectively commands all the forces that are now at humanity's disposal. But we know that mankind today, thanks to the pooling of reserves and treasures from every culture and historic epoch, including our own, is in possession of energies, vitalities, humanities, and divinities now only feebly and fitfully used, which are capable of redeeming our civilization. Catastrophe is perhaps nearer to us than salvation, as a war of unrestricted extermination is perhaps nearer to us than the foundation of universal peace, based on justice and loving co-operation: but the destructive nightmare, in whose grip mankind is now so helplessly tossing and turning, is no more real than the benign dream.

We need the help of the artist to rally, by his example and effective demonstration, the forces of life, the passionate commitments of love, to recall to us all the qualities we have violated this last century in the untrammelled pursuit of power. Henry Adams' Prayer to the Virgin, as the only possible answer to those cosmic forces he—almost alone—had the insight to anticipate and foretell, must be re-written and re-painted in a thousand expressive ways. Every word of the final invocation of the last few stanzas has meaning for us today. And first of all: "Help [us] to see," for it is our unseeingness that has permitted us to stumble so close to the edge of the abyss. "Help us to know," for the withholding of knowledge and the reluctance to draw conclusions from the knowledge we do possess, add willful ignorance to willful blindness. But above all we must recover that which we have lost through the very techniques of scientific knowledge and invention: the power to feel, which is at the basis of all truly human relationships, for once sympathy, pity, and love are withdrawn, intelligence will likewise fail us, and we shall treat other men as if they were mere things or objects. Let us remember, then, those final words of Henry Adams' invocation to the Virgin: "Help us to *feel,* not with our insect sense, with yours that felt all life alive in you: infinite heart beating at your expense, infinite passion, breathing the breath you drew." Yes: help us to *feel.* Our numbness is our death. Whatever our immediate fate may be, as individuals or as a nation, we must, as a condition of survival, recover our humanity again: the capacity for rational conduct, free from compulsive fears and pathological hatreds: the capacity for love and confidence and co-operation, for humorous self-criticism and disarming humility, in our dealings with each other, and in our dealings with the rest of the human race, including, it goes without saying, our enemies. Even should we meet disaster or death through the attempt to replace the politics of dehumanized and absolute power by the politics of love, that defeat would only be a temporary one. For the God in us would remain alive—to quicken the spirit of those that follow us.

[*This is the conclusion of a two-part essay by Mr. Mumford.*]

Second Convolution

THE TITLE of Mr. Barzun's book troubles me a little; *no country,* of course, is God's Country (unless all countries are —it is much the same) except the Kingdom of Heaven, the Republic of Love, the Great Good Place, or as Thomas More chose cannily to call it No-Place. More's is the best name of all, a gag not unlike the famous gag of Ulysses in the Cyclops' cave: "Who is hurting you?" "No-One!" "Where is God's Country?" "No-Place!" "Then, what's all this shouting about?"

God's Country and Mine, by Jacques Barzun (Little, Brown; $5).

But yet another title of the Great Good Place is, confusingly enough, "America," not, please notice, "The United States," but the large legendary name which we have appropriated to the annoyance of the rest of two continents. A great deal of ambiguity arises from the fact that the same word does service now for an actual, imperfect state and for the impossible dream of Romantic Europe. Mr. Barzun, who recalls in his book Goethe's cry, "America, you have the better part!" might also have reminded us of the same poet's attempt to disentangle the legend from the fact. "Here or no place is America. . . ." Not on any map but in the human heart everywhere (*if* at all—the note of skepticism is important, too) is the Republic of Love. But the phrase "God's Country" has lost long since the innocent confusion of the dream with the state of the same name; it is the hackneyed boast of the insular and idolatrous at home, the sigh of the man to whom the gurgle of the flush toilet under him is the running over of his cup before the Lord.

All this, of course, Mr. Barzun knows and makes clear in passages of qualification and dissent; but the emphasis of his book is set by the deliberate rosy banality of his title. The subtitle is a clue: "A Declaration of Love Spiced with a Few Harsh Words." A declaration of love! With these words, perhaps, Mr. Barzun is advising us that he claims the traditional license of the poet to pretend, both conventionally and hyperbolically, that his beloved is divine. But it is a little absurd and embarrassing to woo one's own country like a mistress—and in public, too! No, America is to us *donna angelicata* but a wife, of whom we should be able to say with decent, oriental deprecation, "What, beautiful? My foolish spouse, a humble creature who cannot boil an egg?" And the onlooker, beholding her beauty and feasting on her bounty, should be able to take for granted that what he knows we also know and honor. But, alas, in our confused world the modest demurral would be taken for divorce proceedings; and should we point out the faults which, God knows, she has—we would be offered a host of new loves to console us.

It is our own fault. We have been sobbing so long over the tables of European cafes that America doesn't understand us (half-knowing all along that we must go back to her after a little), that I think we must now woo her with all the unabashed fervor of the middle-aged husband, seeing at least the truth of the weariest clichés of marriage, whose truth he could not learn until he had learned first the sense in which they were false. I am afraid nothing can be spared us, not even "God's Country!" But we say these things now, Mr. Barzun says them (and this is the real point!) *on the second convolution,* feeling as deep as we exist *both* their foolishness and their validity.

In so far as Mr. Barzun is a monger of second-convolution clichés, I feel I

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must declare my solidarity with him, overlooking momentarily my occasional disagreements with his tone, his rhetoric, certain of his ideas. Even his somewhat complacent way of dissociating himself from the intellectuals' initial flight from America, his tendency to think of it as something second-hand, European, certainly not his own, I can only remark in passing. I prefer to think of him along with others, various enough though united in this regard, David Riesman, Mary McCarthy, Peter Viereck, who have been breaking out of the conformism of anti-conformism—attempting to stand against the flight from the commonplaces of American belonging which began as a revolution and has ended as an Academy. For an intellectual to deny, for instance, that his lot in America can be anything except capitulation or rejection shocks the academicians of yesterday's revolt as a paradox of Oscar Wilde shocked the Victorians; while to challenge the "class nature" of our present society or take in vain the word "alienation" leaves some of them shuddering as before a dirty word or a blasphemy.

All refusals to conform to their platitudes (hallowed by the blood of our spiritual ancestors in the twenties) they label "conformism," much as resistance to totalitarianism is labelled by Stalinists "reaction." Life in our world of the Second Convolution has got a little confusing. On the first swing around, you could tell Right and Left, Conformist and non-Conformist without a program; all you had to know was who stood up when they played the "Star Spangled Banner." No wonder we all sigh occasionally for the simple twenties, when — Or is this, too, a vestige in my own mind of the clichés of anti-clichés?

I do not mean to suggest that Mr. Barzun's title, or my reading of it, is merely strategic; for there is a real sense in which we are as no other country "God's Country." After all, we are the only modern state whose name is also the name of a dream; and it is for this reason that our failings seem and *are* so much more terrible than those of countries based only on cynicism or the accidents of power; but it is also for this that our achievements are so improbable and glorious.

Conversely, we are the only version of the Great Good Place that is also a fact (the Soviet Union is too gross a parody to count, and, in any event, still basically Russia); this is what makes it peculiarly rewarding to read a book like this about a notion that one can reach out and touch. I have also been reading in these past weeks exponents of other No-Places: the traditions of "Reason" and "Science" and "Humanism," but in each case I have found slyly concealed behind the inflated label a shrunken fact: "Reason" turned out to be a sect of American pragmatism, "Science" one of the cheerier revisions of Freudianism, "Humanism" a slight personal deviation from the last split-off but one from the Left Opposition to Bolshevism! Behind Mr. Barzun's "America," and mine, and (God forgive us) God's, there is a complex, ambiguous, infinitely resonant *fact* that shrinks into insignificance beside no rubric however vast, and for whose sake we must suffer gladly the platitudes we would have blushed to say at seventeen.

LESLIE A. FIEDLER

Popular Semantics

SCIENTISTS and scholars frequently admit the need for popularization. In social-scientese, it sounds like this: "The results of our research must be brought to the practitioners." This bringing-to-the-practitioners, however, turns out to be something the social scientist thinks can be done by his left hand or by his wife, who used to type dissertations before he married her.

Power of Words, by Stuart and Marian Chase (Harcourt, Brace; $3.95).

The truth of the matter is, of course, that popularization is an art and a difficult one. Will Durant has brought philosophy to more people and has initiated more scholarly philosophers than Plato or Aristotle did. In the social sciences, Stuart Chase towers over other writers who have tried to assimilate the knowledge of the specialists and explain it simply and clearly to the non-specialist. Economics, politics, cultural anthropology, group dynamics, information theory, general semantics—Mr. Chase writes of these and a host of other fields. He seldom has much to say to the specialist in any of these fields. But his explanations to the non-specialist are magnificent.

Power of Words attempts "to connect some of the diverse disciplines touching on communication." The first part of the book has much to say about the discoveries, theories, or special language of various people concerned with the processes of communication: "communication engineers, brain physiologists, linguists, grammarians, cultural anthropologists, physicists, semanticists, group dynamicists." Chase finds interesting things to say about the work of these various specialists and makes good suggestions for further reading.

The rest of the book, "Applications," is devoted to a series of chapters in which Chase tries to show how "Applied Communication Theory" works, discussing the problems of the writer and of the listener to confused talk or propaganda about economics, campaign oratory, guilt by association, etc.

These concluding chapters, though much less flashy and less pretentious than the earlier ones, are more satisfactory and valuable. In them, Chase settles down to the task he had originally set himself with this book—to rewrite his 1938 bestseller, *The Tyranny of Words*. The most substantial improvement the new book makes over the old one is noted by Chase in the foreword: "*The Tyranny*, as its title indicates, was chiefly concerned with the misuse of language. The present book, as its title indicates, deals with the positive as well as the negative: power runs to both poles. Words are what hold society together."

The Tyranny was written out of extreme enthusiasm for the writings and teaching of Count Alfred Korzybski, the founder of general semantics. But Chase in *The Tyranny* emphasized, to the point of distortion, Korzybski's concern over the abuse of language. In particular Chase emphasized with horrifying effectiveness the dangers of using abstract or general terms. It is, of course, true that we confuse ourselves and other people when we use large, vague, undefined words like "liberty," "democracy," "Communism," etc. This is certainly as true in the 1954 of Senator McCarthy as it was in the 1938 of Chancellor Hitler.

What Chase failed to make clear in 1938 was the use of abstractions as well as their abuse. If social problems are sometimes caused or aggravated by the abuse of language, society could not exist without the use of language. Man, as Korzybski defined him, is a time-binding animal, and language—all the systems of arbitrary and conventional symbols by which we express and communicate: oral languages, writing,

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mathematics, etc. — is what binds one time to another, making society possible. Chase, however, in *The Tyranny* contented himself with trying to scare hell (rather an abstract word, to be sure) out of anybody tempted to use an abstract word. At least one of his readers remembers being almost cured of wanting to write anything at all.

In *Power of Words*, Chase has benefited from the examples of such competent writers on semantics as S. I. Hayakawa, Wendell Johnson, Irving Lee, and Anatol Rapoport. Appropriately enough for a writer, he continues to be haunted by the horrors of misusing language. But now writes clearly and helpfully about the devices, chiefly Korzybski's, for avoiding confused and confusing language:

(1) The symbol "etc." to remind us of characteristics left out;

(2) Index numbers to break up false indentifications;

(3) Dates to remind us that objects are in process, in a state of constant change;

(4) Hyphens to show that events are connected and nature is all of a piece;

(5) Quotes to remind us that the term we are using is high up the abstraction ladder, and so, "Beware, it's Loaded."

The examples which Chase cites, quotes, or invents to illustrate such points as he goes along are always competent and frequently brilliant. That makes *Power of Words* a good book, especially for someone who has not read much about general semantics or for someone who is dazzled or teased by the five-ring circus the communications experts have thrown up almost overnight.

General semantics, as it was begun by Count Korzybski and as it is carried on now by the Institute of General Semantics and by the International Society for General Semantics, is two decades old. *Etc.*, a Review of General Semantics is in its eleventh year of publication. Courses in semantics are taught by more than one hundred universities in this country, as Chase points out. And abroad more and more attention is being paid to this discipline, cult, movement, or school as it is variously labeled. It is time for an evaluation of general Semantics, and even if *Power of Words* is not an entirely satisfactory evaluation, it's the only one there is in 1954.

RUSSELL F. W. SMITH

Company & Union

CIO MEATPACKERS' attitudes toward their work, management, and union at the Hormel plant are the subject of Blum's study and those of Swift's Chicago employees are described by Father Purcell. Both investigators find that the workers' economic position has improved considerably in the past two decades, that workers are grateful to union and company for this progress.

The Worker Speaks His Mind, by Theodore V. Purcell (Harvard; $4). *Toward a Democratic Work Process*, by Fred H. Blum (Harper; $3.50).

Blum, however, looks more deeply into the workers' lives and there finds many unarticulated emotional yearnings not fulfilled in work. His mention of the word "work" brought the immediate association of "dammit" from one interviewee, which response occurs, he suggests, because the lack of opportunity for self expression on the job prevents a positive emotional identification with the work process, union, and company. In brief: wages are not enough for human happiness.

Blum's remedies are: beautify factories; change the work situation to provide outlets for workers' intellectual, emotional and cultural needs; foster "values" that derive from the personality of each worker rather than those that are the internalized expression of outside authority; enable the workers to relate more to each other on the job.

Father Purcell's labor principles, which have become a fixed body of instruction in Catholic Universities and Labor Schools, understandably preclude a Jesuit scholar from arriving at conclusions other than those already postulated as Catholic social doctrine.

Father Purcell states that his research enabled him to "build up a body of industrial relations theory which has genuine validity." But from his results, it becomes apparent that his ostensibly objective study is merely another expression of Catholic social theory. For example, he frequently notes that most workers feel as loyal to the company as to the union, that radicalism usually hurts the union movement, that radical leadership is resented, and that "harmonious opposition" is possible between employer and employee. The field of workers' interest in political action is left unexplored.

Father Purcell's psychological perceptiveness and method also have their limitations. He says interviews were easily obtained, for his being a priest gave him a "position of neutrality between company and union." No doubt the workers understood that he was not all pro-union or all pro-company. What was obvious to them, however, was that he was pro-Catholic. The Father says that interviewees "polished up their language" when speaking with him. Was that all they censored as they faced the communication problem inherent in an interview with a priest?

Obviously Father Purcell places great faith in man's rationality. Not only did he accept what the workers said at face value, but he avoided techniques which might have yielded deeper insights into their motivations. MARC KARSON

Notes on the Critics

LEWIS MUMFORD'S newest book is *Art and Technics*. LESLIE A.FIEDLER is on the English faculty of the University of Montana. RUSSEL F. W. SMITH, Assistant Dean of University College, University of Chicago, is Associate Editor of *Etc.*, a Review of General Semantics. MARC KARSON, a former student of Harold Laski's, teaches at Washburn University.

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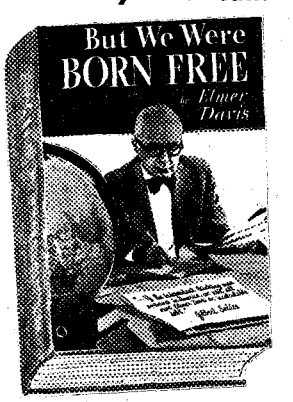

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CORRESPONDENCE

►In Defense of Israel

May I take exception to some of the remarks and implications contained in Morris Lazaron's letter in the March 22 *New Republic?*

Who are the expansionist forces in Israel who figure prominently in Mr. Lazaron's analysis? To my knowledge, there are but the "only thus!" boys, always small in number, who, after a brief fling engendered by high-powered press agentry during the Israel-Arab War, have settled down to well-deserved political obscurity. If a new and influential expansion element has arisen, I think it Mr. Lazaron's duty to identify it.

With regard to the Arab refugees—many liberal minded and humanitarian individuals have expressed the belief that these refugees are Israel's responsibility. What weight have they given to:

(1) The voluntary nature of the departure of at least most of the Arabs.

(2) The problems Israel would face in accepting a hostile minority at a time when it is in a permanent state of siege and in such a precarious economic position.

(3) The total lack of concern the Arab states have shown towards the welfare of those Jews who fled their borders for Israel. . . .

(4) The manner in which the Arab States (highly underpopulated and in even greater need of manpower than Israel, if that is the point) have done little in five years to relieve the misery of the refugees, preferring to use their plight as a weapon against Israel.

The New City of Jerusalem, mainly residential and Jewish, contains few of the religious shrines cherished by the other faiths (they are predominantly in the old city, held by Jordan). It does, however, symbolize an indispensable part of the hope and inspiration that has kept the Zionist dream and the Israel reality alive. Is there any reason to expect that the religious places that are in the new city will be any less protected or available under Israel than under international control? Why internationalization—except to take still more away from the Jews, who have already been deprived of the greater part of what was promised them as a Jewish homeland.

Mr. Lazaron takes the approach that a solution to Middle Eastern difficulties must be reached at any cost. I agree that it is vitally important—but why at such an overwhelmingly Israeli cost? One needn't be a professional political observer to see that the aggressive bellowings of the Arab States against Israel have occurred in direct proportion and time sequence to promises and granting of arms from the West. If we are to take this approach in other areas of the world, democracy is doomed and totalitarianism in its intransigience (Arab or Communist) has won the fight before it has really begun.

MRS. MIRIAM W. HERTZ
Los Angeles, California

. . .

In response to Mrs. Hertz' courteous letter, I submit the following: The *New York Times* of March 25 reported an address of Prime Minister Sharrett in which he discussed the Scorpian Pass murders. He declared that "Israel had no intention to embark on aggression or indulge in any provocation," but he warned that the chain of incidents "can lead to incalculcable results." In the same edition, Menachem Beigen, leader of the Herut and commander of the terrorists Irgun Zvai Leumi, urged the government to hand a 24 hour deportation order to Commander Hutchinson, U.S.N. Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission. He advocated open warfare saying, "it would be less risky than Arab guerilla warfare." Beigen still has wide influence and a large following.

The New York *Times* of March 27 reports David Ben-Gurion, former Prime Minister of Israel as cautioning the Israeli not to expect the United Nations to protect them but to rely on their own defensive power. "Only the politically infantile could imagine that the powers will damage their relations with the countries of the Arab League in order to protect the lives of the citizens of Israel." The *Times* also quotes Col. Arieh, of the Israeli Army, as having said in the Mixed Armistice Commission that "his government might not be able to restrain its people."

At least the writer agrees that a solution must be reached, but she insists on Zionist terms. I was attempting to find a compromise which would be measurably just to both sides and offer some hope for peace in the Middle East.

New York City MORRIS S. LAZARON

►"Gentlemen and Statesmen"

Last Saturday we reluctantly listened to smooth Dick and were dismayed that such a high school speaker should really be our V.P. How we longed for the good old days of F.D.R and Alben Barkley, gentlemen and statesmen of the old school with golden voices and diction, lovers of the PEOPLE, talking to us as equals.

We felt and we are in our late sixty's, my husband and I, as if in [Nixon's] eyes, we were children being talked down to by a patronizing schoolmarm, and told to be good now, because they knew just how things (the atom bomb, McCarthy and other evils of the day) should be taken care of. We almost got sick when he called fellow human beings "Rats," who though they may be Communists are after all just as LEGAL as Republicans.

Thank God we still have Shakespeare and our Bible and Beethoven and Mozart and our love and our family, otherwise would life be worth living? And thank God too for Adlai Stevenson—a real man has grown up amongest us and God willing, will come into his own in a few more years, unless we are all blown up by that time as a consequence of the new policy of "instant retaliation."

ELIZABETH STUYVESANT RENSSALAER
Fostoria, Ohio

►For Rexwrathy Readers

On my travels I had missed some lively *New Republic* issues, including that of February 15, with Kenneth Rexroth's article on the youngest generation of writers, and that of March 8, in which Rexroth was chided and deplored by three pained readers. One of them, George Murray, ended his chiding with the kind sentence, "Let's have more of Mr. Cowley!"

There's more Cowley coming up, in fact two of his articles are enclosed with this letter, but meanwhile Mr. C. would like to dissociate himself from the Rexwrathy. He thought—let's change pronouns—I thought that Rexroth's piece was very informative, and the McCoy. Rexroth isn't a critic! He's one of our very few lyrical (in spirit) and Villonesque poets. In this case he's speaking

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about—but with his gift of sympathy he's also speaking for—a pretty large group among the youngest writers. He makes a lot of hasty statements and some plain errors: for example, he says Robert Hichens when he means Robert Herrick, and he puts Bellow in a class where he doesn't belong; it's obvious that Rexroth hasn't yet read *The Adventures of Augie March*, which is anything but tame highbrow writing. He's quite unfair to several thirty-year-old authors. But he does present, fairly and accurately, the extreme negativism and even nihilism of many young writers who are making their first appearances.

Should we condemn the new generation for being negative? The first answer is that the generation isn't negative as a whole; Rexroth is speaking about a group that, large as it is, may be smaller than he believes (and note that it is more Western than Ivy League). The second answer is that the group may nevertheless be important and that its attitude of negativism and complete rejection may be a justified response to the world in which we, so to say, live. The attitude may even hold a promise for the future of American writing. Poets and novelists don't stay negative all their lives, and often it's good for them to start that way, with the slate wiped clean.

MALCOLM COWLEY

Sherman, Conn.

BANDWAGON

The movie version of Herman Wouk's celebrated novel, *The Caine Mutiny*, received its official stamp of approval by both the Navy Department and the Department of Defense last week. . . .

Navy officials viewing the film could see nothing wrong with either Queeg or the other naval officers in the movie. —*Navy Times, January 30, 1954.*

Maj. Gen. B. E. Gates . . . reported Friday that . . . Gov. Stratton telephoned . . . for suggestions on presenting Illinois' case in regard to the proposed air academy.

General Gates told the governor . . . that Illinois is a state "where men are men" as proved by the strongness of the Big Ten Conference in athletics.—*Champaign-Urbana Courier, March 26, 1954.*

The President added that he does not expect others to agree to every single item in his program, but that, for goodness sake, he hopes they will take out what is good and stand behind it—*Chicago Daily Tribune, March 11, 1954.*

The small fry of upper Manhattan now have a new game. Instead of playing "Sheriff," "Hopalong Cassidy," or "G-Man," they now wear tin badges inscribed "Senate Investigating Committee" and sit on the curb interrogating each other—*New York Herald Tribune, March 25, 1954.*

[The President] asserted vigorously that the FBI files are inviolate so far as the possibility of making them available to Congressional investigators is concerned. Eisenhower went on to say that there are certain types of files which never will be released to Congress, and that on the other hand there might be some types which could be released.—*Elgin Courier News, March 24, 1954.*

We need legislation making it possible for the Attorney General to authorize wire tapping and make evidence thus obtained admissible in court. Only in this way will we protect our citizens' right of privacy. – *Reader's Digest, April 1954.*

The Kirkland House Junior Common room recently voted to replace subscriptions to the *New Republic* and the *Partisan Review* with subscriptions to the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*.—*Harvard Alumni Bulletin, Mar. 20, 1954*

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